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ABSTRACT

The combined and singular effects of racism and sexism on African American females (AAF), males (AAM), and European American females (EAF) are examined with identity development as a moderator of psychological well being. Samples of AAF, AAM, EAF and a control group of European American Males (EAM) completed counterbalanced instruments that measured perceived frequency and effect of racism and sexism; identity development, generic hassles, psychological symptoms, and self-esteem. After partialling out generic hassles, a series of multiple regression analyses tested the relationships among these remaining variables. For AAFs, singular and combined effect and frequency of racism and sexism on psychological symptoms and self-esteem were nonsignificant. For AAMs and EAFs, effect (but not frequency) of racism and sexism, respectively, on psychological symptoms (but not self-esteem) were significant. Identity development as a moderator between racist and sexist events and psychological well being was nonsignificant. Although AAFs reported higher frequency of racist and sexist events, these events were not linked to their psychological well being. AAFs reported the highest number of psychological symptoms, whereas AAMs reported the lowest number. These results, their implications for counseling psychology, and recommendations for future research are discussed. (EMK)

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Effects of Perceived Racism and Sexism on Psychological Well Being and the Moderating Effects of Identity Development among African and European American College Students

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Abstract

This study examined the combined and singular effects of racism and sexism on African American females (AAF), males (AAM), and European American females (EAF), respectively, with identity development as a moderator, on psychological well being. Samples of AAF, AAM, EAF and a control group of European American males (EAM) completed counterbalanced instruments that measured perceived frequency and effect of racism and sexism; identity development, generic hassles, psychological symptoms, and self esteem. After partialling out generic hassles, a series of multiple regression analyses tested the relationships among these remaining variables. For AAF's, singular and combined effect and frequency of racism and sexism on psychological symptoms and self esteem were nonsignificant. For AAM's & EAF's, effect (but not frequency) of racism & sexism, respectively, on psychological symptoms (but not self esteem) were significant. Identity development as a moderator between racist and sexist events and psychological well being was nonsignificant. Although AAF's reported higher frequency of racist and sexist events, these events were not linked to their psychological well being. AAF's reported the highest number of psychological symptoms, whereas AAM's reported the lowest number. These results, their implications for counseling psychology, and recommendations for future research are presented.

Effects of Perceived Racism and Sexism on Psychological Well Being and the Moderating Effects of Identity Development among African and European American College Students

The victimization hypothesis suggests that racial/ethnic minorities and females are vulnerable to race- and gender-related stressors that adversely impact their psychological well being above and beyond generic life stressors (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991). This hypothesis has received empirical support in studies of discrimination and psychological distress among groups such as African American females (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) and Asian American females (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Patel, 1998). Although many have noted the deleterious double impact of racism and sexism (e.g., Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990), the simultaneous and unique effects of racism and sexism have only been empirically studied by Patel (1998).

In her study of Asian American college females enrolled in an course on Asian American women's psychology, Patel found that experiences of racial discrimination uniquely predicted more psychological symptomatology than gender discrimination. She also reported that frequency of lifetime racial and sexual discrimination predicted psychological symptomatology and self esteem, whereas recent experiences of racial and gender discrimination predicted psychological symptomatology, but not self esteem. When the effect of generic daily hassles was partialled out, only lifetime racial discrimination accounted for variance in psychological symptoms, with self esteem unaffected by either racial or gender discrimination. Since Patel only studied Asian American females, the impact of double oppression across other racial/ethnic groups, such as African American females, remains unanswered. Likewise, the potential moderating effects of within group variables, such as identity development, on racism/sexism and psychological well being have yet to be examined.

Examination of discriminatory events that affect the psychological well being of minorities and variables that may moderate this relationship is important to the field of

counseling psychology. In addition to illuminating the relationship between discrimination and psychological well being, such research may identify factors that lessen the adverse effects of discrimination on the health of minorities. It was within this context that this research was designed.

The four main purposes of this study were to examine: (a) the singular and combined effects of racism and sexism on African American females, (b) the singular effect of racism and sexism on African American males and European American females, respectively, (c) identity development as a moderator variable between sexism/racism and psychological well being, and (d) the singular effects of racism and sexism for African American females compared to the singular effect of racism for African American males and the singular effect of sexism for European American females.

Method

Participants

Participants were 86 African American (23 male and 63 female) and 170 European American (81 male and 89 female) college students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at a large mid-western university. A majority of the sample were either first- or second-year college students (66% for European Americans; 76% for African Americans); participants ranged from 17-43 years of age with a mean age of 18.94 years (SD = 1.28) for African Americans and 19.27 years (SD = 3.17) for European Americans. Participants were solicited based on their race/ethnicity and received course credit for their participation.

Measures

Daily Hassles Frequency Scale (DHFS). This scale represents a slight adaptation of the Asian American Graduate Student Hassles Frequency Scale (AHS; Hagiwara,

1992) which was based on the Hassles-F scale (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer & Lazarus, 1981). The original Hassles-F scale was developed for a more general population, but the AHS focused on 48 hassles most relevant to a student population. Two items, "your role as female," and "gender discrimination" were eliminated in the present study because they were not appropriate for both males and females and/or they were assessed more fully in the SEI. All other items seemed relevant to college students from varied racial/ethnic backgrounds.

Kanner et al. (1981) describe hassles as "the irritating, frustrating, distressing demands that to some degree characterize everyday transactions with the environment" (p. 3). Participants were asked to consider each of 46 potential hassles and indicate whether or not they had felt each item annoying or bothering them in the last three months. Items ranged from "grocery shopping" to "understanding lectures" to "lack of social support". A participant's score was computed by summing the number of items that the individual indicated applied to her or him. Total scores could range from 0 to 46.

The AHS has been shown to be highly reliable among Asian American students with reported alpha coefficients of .92 and .87 (Hagiwara, 1992; Patel, 1998; respectively). Likewise, an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .88 was computed in this study for the African and European American combined sample. In addition, Hagiwara (1992) examined the content and face validity of the items using a sub-sample of graduate students and a panel of experts.

Sexist Events Inventory (SEI). The SEI was created by the researchers to measure perception of sexist events. Items were generated by adapting items from the Index of Race-Related Stress (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) and the Schedule of Sexist

Events (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) as well as including items generated by the researchers. The purpose of creating the SEI was to integrate the concepts of institutional, cultural, collective, and individual sexism into one scale. The SEI has two sub-scales for frequency (SEI-F) and effect (SEI-E) of sexist events. The item pool originally contained 68 items for each sub-scale. Items were eliminated based on the variability of responses they elicited and reliability analysis.

The SEI-F is a 17-item scale with a 4-point Likert format. Responses range from "Never" to "5 or more times" with higher scores indicating greater frequency of sexist events. Items focus on women's perceptions of sexism in their environment, e.g., "You did not receive a promotion or advancement that you deserved; you suspect it was because you are female." Internal consistency for the scale was .80 for a sample of 102 African American and European American women. Likewise, an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .79 was computed for African American and European American women in the current study.

The SEI-E is a 15-item scale with a 4-point Likert response format. Responses range from "No effect" to "very strong effect" with higher scores indicating that the event had a greater impact on the responder. Items focus on women's perceptions of sexism in their environment, e.g., "You have observed that your opinion as a woman is less listened to and valued than the opinions of men." Internal consistency for the scale was .83 for a sample of 102 African American and European American women. In the current study, the internal consistency reliability coefficient was .81.

Racist Events Inventory (REI). The researchers created the REI to measure perceived racist events. Items were generated from other instruments, including the

Index of Race-Related Stress (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) and the Schedule of Racist Events (Patel, 1998), and by the researchers. The REI consists of two sub-scales that measure frequency (REI-F) and effect (REI-E) of racist events. The item pool originally had 75 items for each of the sub-scales. Items were eliminated based on the variability of responses they elicited and reliability analysis.

The REI-F is a 10-item scale with a 4-point Likert response format. Responses range from "Never" to "5 or more times" with higher responses indicating that the event has occurred more often. An example question is "You have been followed by security (or employees) while shopping in some stores." Internal consistency for the scale was .89 for a sample of 56 African American men and women. Likewise, an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .89 was computed for the African American sample in this study.

The REI-E is a 10-item scale with a 4-point Likert format. Responses range from "No effect" to "very strong effect" with higher scores indicating that the event had more impact. Items focus on the respondent's perceptions of racism (e.g., "You have been treated unfairly by strangers because you are Black.") Internal consistency was .83 in a sample of 56 African American men and women. For the present study, the REI-E had an internal consistency coefficient of .89.

Self Identity Inventory (SII; Sevig, Highlen, & Adams, 1997). The SII is an 80-item instrument that measures multicultural identity development. The instrument was developed utilizing the Optimal Theory Applied to Identity Development model (OTAID; Myers, Speight, Highlen, Cox, Reynolds, Adams, & Hanley, 1991). According to Sevig et al., "the OTAID model posits a developmental process of how an individual

internalizes feelings of self worth within American culture where oppression and its manifestations (e.g., racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ageism) often undermine such feelings" (p. 6). Identity development is seen as a continuous interaction between individuals and their socio-cultural environment, with people moving from a segmented way of viewing the world to a more holistic one.

Items on the six sub-scales of the SII assessed participants' attitudes, feelings, and behaviors and directly reflected the six phases of the OTAID model of identity development. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with items using a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." All items were scored in the positive direction. Examples of items for each of the scales are: (a) Scale 1 (Individuation), "All people can succeed in this country, if they work hard enough."; (b) Scale 2 (Dissonance), "I am just beginning to realize that society doesn't value people like me."; (c) Scale 3 (Immersion), "My identity as a member of my group is the most important part of who I am."; (d) Scale 4 (Internalization), "I recently realized that I don't have to like every person in my group."; (e) Scale 5 (Integration), "I have a deep understanding of myself that comes from examining the different parts of my identity.", and (f) Scale 6 (Transformation), "I see myself in all others, including criminals and all oppressors, because we are part of the same collective spirit." Scores for items in each scale were summed and divided by the number of scale items, creating a mean score for each of the six scales.

Sevig, Highlen, and Adams (1997) performed several analyses to assess the reliability and validity of their instrument. Cronbach alphas were reported for each of the scales and ranged from .72 on Scale 3 to .92 on Scale 1. In the present study the

following alpha coefficients were computed: .66 for Scale 1; .80 for Scale 2; .88 for Scale 3; .69 for Scale 4; .69 for Scale 5 and .85 for Scale 6. Sevig, Highlen, and Adams reported six-to-ten-week test-retest reliabilities ranging from .72 on Scale 4 to .90 on Scales 2 and 6. The relationships between the SII and the RIAS-B (Helms & Parham, 1984) and the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990; 1992) were examined to ascertain the concurrent validity of the SII. Sevig, Highlen, and Adams reported that, for the most part, the SII scales were correlated with corresponding RIAS-B scales (e.g. SII Scale 1 and RIAS-B Scale 1), and in some instances, with adjoining corresponding scales (e.g., SII Scale 3 and RIAS-B Scale 1). Results were similar for the correlations between the SII and the WRIAS.

Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL; Derogatis, Lipman, Rickles, Uhlenhuth & Cori, 1974). The HSCL was created to measure psychological symptom configurations commonly found among out patient populations. This scale has also been used to measure psychological symptoms among non-clinical samples (Landrine, Klonoff, Gibbs, Manning & Lund, 1995; Patel, 1998). Respondents were asked to rate themselves on each of 58 symptoms using a 4-point scale, from 1 to 4, 1 representing "not at all distressing" and 4 representing "extremely distressing." A participant's overall rating was obtained by summing all responses and dividing by the total number of responses given by the participant. The higher the score the greater the severity of psychological symptoms. In addition, five scores can be obtained which correspond to five underlying symptom dimensions: Somatization (distress arising from perceptions of bodily dysfunction), Obsessive-Compulsiveness (distress arising from unwanted and irresistible thoughts, impulses and actions), Interpersonal Sensitivity (feelings of personal

inadequacy and inferiority in comparison to others), Depression (dysphoric mood and affect, signs of withdrawal of life interest and lack of motivation), and Anxiety (restlessness, nervousness, and tension).

Derogatis et al. (1974) reported internal consistency reliabilities ranging from .84 to .87 for the five sub-scales. Test-retest reliabilities ranged from .75 to .84 (Derogatis, et al., 1974). In this study an alpha coefficient of .96 was computed for the HSCL total score.

Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). This instrument is a widely used measure of global personal self esteem. It contains 10 items, such as "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." and "I wish I could have more respect for myself." Participants indicated their level of agreement with each item on a 4-point scale, from 0, representing "strongly disagree" to 3, representing "strongly agree." Items like the latter are reverse scored so that higher numbers correspond to higher self esteem scores. A participant's overall score was computed by summing the responses for that individual and dividing by the total number of responses given by the participant on this scale.

In this study an internal consistency reliability of .88 was computed for this instrument. Also, Blascovich and Tomaka (1991) reported a six-week test-retest reliability of .80 indicating that the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale is a reliable instrument.

Demographic Questionnaire.

This short survey elicited each participant's age, sex, race/ethnicity, year in school (college), state of residence, sexual orientation/preference, parental educational background, household income, marital status, and religious/spiritual orientation.

Procedures

Participants were tested in separate groups based on their race/ethnicity and gender. Participants completed the packet of questionnaires that were counterbalanced within each race x gender group in settings of approximately 5 to 30 students. The packet given to African American females (AAF's) included the demographic questionnaire and six instruments: the DHFS, the SEI-E & -F, the REI-E & -F, the SII, the RSES, and the HSCL. European American females (EAF's) completed five instruments, with the REI-E & -F omitted. African American males (AAM's) completed five instruments, with the SEI-E & -F omitted. European American males (EAM's), as the control group, completed four instruments, with the REI-E & -F and the SEI-E & -F omitted. Participants took approximately 45-90 minutes to complete the questionnaires. A debriefing sheet was made available for participants upon completion of the study.

Results

Demographics

The demographics characteristics of the sample are summarized in Table 1. Of the 266 participants, 63.9% identified as European American (White), 32.3% identified as African American (Black), .8% were Biracial (African/European American) and 2.3% were Multiracial (e.g., Asian, European, African, Native Americans). Mulit- and bi-racial participants were excluded from the analyses. The sample was composed of 161 female participants (60.5%) and 105 male participants (39.5%). Age ranged from 17-43 years (M = 19.21 years). Family income ranged from "under $10,000" per year to "$75,000 and above" with a modal family income of between "$50,000-$74,999." The modal level of education was "first year undergraduate." Fifty-four percent reported their

father's highest educational level as either undergraduate college or graduate/professional training, whereas 47.3% of participants reported their mother's highest educational level as either undergraduate college or graduate/professional training. The modal educational level for both the fathers and mothers of this sample was a high school education at 32.6% and 33.8%, respectively.

Insert Table 1 about here

Order Effects

A 2-way ANOVA revealed no order effects (i.e., whether responses to an instrument were affected by placement in the packet) for AAF's on the SEI-F, $F(5,63) = .93$, $p > .47$, the SEI-E, $F(5,63) = 1.60$, $p > .17$, the REI-F, $F(5,63) = .43$, $p > .82$, or the REI-E, $F(5,63) = .572$, $p > .29$). There were no order effects for AAM's on the REI-F, $F(2,23) = 1.49$, $p > .25$) or the REI-E, $F(2,23) = 1.32$, $p > .29$). No order effects occurred for the EAF's on the SEI-F, $F(4,89) = 1.58$, $p > .19$) or the SEI-E, $F(4,89) = .98$, $p > .43$).

Between Group Comparisons

Means and standard deviations for the Racist Events Inventory-Frequency (REI-F) and –Effect (REI-E), Sexist Events Inventory-Frequency (SEI-F) and –Effect (SEI-E), Self Identity Inventory (SII), Daily Hassles Frequency Scale (DHFS), Hopkins Symptom Check List (HSCL), and Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES) are presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 About Here

ANOVAS were performed comparing the different groups for each instrument.

Racism & Sexism. For the REI-E, the 1-way ANOVA showed no significant difference between AAF's and AAM's in perceived effects of racism. In contrast for the REI-F, the 1-way ANOVA was significant, $F(1,84) = 5.36$, $p < .02$, with AAF's (M = 1.90 SD = .77) reporting a greater frequency of racist events than AAM's (M=1.47, SD = .75). For the SEI-E, the 1-way ANOVA revealed no difference between AAF's and EAF's for the perceived occurrence of sexist events. In contrast, for the SEI-F, the 1-way ANOVA was significant, $F(1, 150) = 5.16$, $p < .02$, with AAF's (M = .76, SD =.46) reporting a higher frequency of sexist events than EAF's (M = .61, SD = .35).

Generic stressors. The 2 X 2 ANOVA (Race X Gender) for the DHFS only revealed a main effect for gender, $F(1,255) = 8.59$, $p < .005$, with females (M = .48, SD = .19) reporting more daily hassles than males (M = .41, SD = .18).

Self esteem. The 2 X 2 ANOVA (Race X Gender) for the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale revealed no significant main or interaction effects for race and gender.

Psychological Symptoms. The 2 X 2 ANOVA (Race X Gender) for the Hopkins Symptom Check List showed a main effect for gender, $F(1,255) = 22.88$, $p < .001$, with females (M = 1.13, SD = .47) reporting more symptoms than males (M = .89, SD = .43). A significant Race X Gender interaction effect occurred, $F(1.255) = 5.59$, $p < .02$, with AAF's reporting the most psychological symptoms (M = 1.20, SD = .54), followed by EAF's (M = 1.09, SD = .41), EAM's (M =.93, SD = .39), and AAM's (M = .74, SD = .52). None of the simple effects were significant; therefore, this interaction suggests that

among males, EA's reported greater symptomatology, whereas among females, AA's reported greater symptomatology. This interaction is graphically presented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

Correlation Matrix

A correlation matrix was formed between all predictor and criterion variables, as well as variables used as covariates and moderators. These correlations are presented in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 About Here

As expected, a significant positive correlation between daily hassles and symptomatology occurred ($r = .47$, $p < .001$), as well as a significant negative correlation between daily hassles and self esteem ($r = -.28$, $p < .001$), and a significant negative correlation between symptomatology and self esteem ($r = -.36$, $p < .001$). The effects of racism were significantly correlated with symptomatology ($r = .25$, $p < .02$); however, the frequency of racism was not significantly correlated with symptomatology. Contrary to expectation, no relationship was found between effects of racism and self esteem ($r = -.17$, $p > .05$) or frequency of racism and self esteem ($r = -.14$, $p > .05$). Consistent with the findings of Landrine and colleagues (1995), which reported psychological correlates of sexism with symptomatology, significant positive correlations were found between the effects of sexism and symptomatology ($r = .32$, $p < .001$) and, the frequency of sexism

and symptomatology ($r = .30$, $p < .001$). Also as expected, significant negative correlations occurred between effects of sexism and self esteem ($r = -.21$, $p < .01$), and frequency of sexism and self esteem ($r = -.23$, $p < .004$). As expected, significant correlations occurred between the frequency and effects of racist events ($r = .77$, $p < .001$), and the frequency and effects of sexist events ($r = .82$, $p < .001$).

Hierarchical Regression Analyses

A series of hierarchical regressions were performed using the DHFS measure of daily hassles as a covariate or nuisance variable to minimize the variance in the criterion variables of psychological symptomatology and self esteem. Hassles were partialled out by entering the total hassles score in the first step of the model and adding other predictors in subsequent steps. In the first set of analyses, the singular effects of racism (effect and frequency) were used to predict symptomatology and self esteem in AAM's. In the second set of analyses, the singular effects of sexism (effect and frequency) were used to predict symptomatology and self esteem in EAF's. The third set of analyses focused on AAF's and assessed both the singular and combined effects of racism (effect and frequency) and sexism (effect and frequency) on symptomatology and self esteem. A fourth set of analyses incorporated the identity development scales as a moderator of the relationship between racism and psychological well being and sexism and psychological well being.

For AAM's, multiple regression analyses assessing racism (effect and frequency) on psychological well being are presented in Table 4. Daily hassles, entered first to predict well being, resulted in a significant R^2 for symptomatology and self esteem which accounted for 18% and 23% of the variance, respectively. Effect of racism predicted

both symptomatology ($\underline{R^2}_{change}$ = 18%) and self esteem ($\underline{R^2}_{change}$ = 14%) for AAM's; however, the frequency of racism predicted neither symptomatology nor self esteem.

Insert Table 4 About Here

For EAF's daily hassles accounted for 22% and 5% of the variance in predicting symptomatology and self esteem, respectively. Beyond hassles, the only other significant predictor was effect of sexism for symptomatology ($\underline{R^2}_{change}$ = 4%). Refer to Table 5 for a summary of these findings.

Insert Table 5 About Here

The third set of hierarchical regressions was designed to test for the combined effects of racism and sexism for AAF's and to determine whether or not racism (effect and frequency) and sexism (effect and frequency) predicted AAF's well being beyond daily hassles. Refer to Table 6. Consistent with the previous regressions, daily hassles was a significant predictor and accounted for 16% of the variance for symptomatology and 16% of the variance for self esteem. However, neither the frequency nor the effect of the racism and sexism variables predicted AAF's symptomatology or self esteem.

Insert Table 6 About Here

The fourth set of hierarchical regressions examined identity development as a moderator of the relationship between sexism, racism and psychological well being for AAF's. Identity development level was operationalized as a moderator by entering the SII subscale scores following hassles, racism, and sexism, and then entering the SII X Racism and SII X Sexism interaction terms in subsequent steps. Overall, the effect of identity development as a moderator was nonsignificant, and valid examination of beta weights was confounded by severe multicollinearity. Therefore, the lack of relationship between racism (effect and frequency), sexism (effect and frequency) and psychological well being for AAF's was not affected by the addition of identity development as a moderating variable.

Discussion

The only consistent finding was that daily hassles predicted both psychological symptomatology and self esteem across the three groups. This finding has been documented extensively in the literature (e.g., Landrine et al., 1995; Patel, 1998). Beyond hassles, effect of racism also predicted symptomatology and self esteem for African American males, whereas for European American females, effect of sexism only predicted symptomatology, and not self esteem. However, frequency of racism and sexism did not predict their psychological well being. The effect findings are consistent with previous research that singular effects of racism and sexism are adversely related to psychological symptoms for African American males (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) and European American females (Ingram, Corning, & Schmidt, 1996; Landrine et al., 1995), respectively.

However, our most surprising finding occurred for African American females; neither racism nor sexism, singularly or in combination, predicted symptomatology or self esteem. In the only other study that examined the double effects of racism and sexism, Patel (1998) found that for Asian American college females, after daily hassles were partialled out, only the frequency of lifetime racial discrimination accounted for variance in psychological symptoms, with self esteem unaffected by either racial or gender discrimination. These discrepant findings may be due to a variety of factors, including sample differences (Patel's sample was from a Psychology of Asian Women's class, whereas ours was from introductory psychology classes) and differences in instruments used to measure racism and sexism, as well as actual population differences between Asian and African American female college students. One consistent finding across these two studies is that self esteem of African, Asian, and European American females was not predicted by racist or sexist events after daily hassles were partialled out. In fact, in keeping with past findings (Patel, 1998), no differences were found across the four Race X Gender groups on self esteem. This result is in marked contrast to the differences found for symptomatology for African American and Asian and European American female students and leads us to question the intuited negative relationship between racism, sexism, and self esteem. Perhaps oppression strengthens one's soul thereby maintaining a minority member's self esteem. The one exception to this finding was for African American males in this study, where effect of racism predicted self esteem, which suggests that self esteem may be a variable of continued interest in future research with African American males. Also, based on our results, it appears that effect,

rather than frequency, of racism and sexism is a more potent predictor of psychological well being for African American and European American female students.

It is interesting to note that although African American females perceived a higher frequency of discriminatory events in their lives than the other groups, these events were not linked to their psychological well being. One possible explanation for this finding is that African American women cope with discriminatory events in a different manner than other minority members. Coping is defined as the process of executing a response to stress (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). African American women may perceive the stressors (sexism and racism) but cope with them in different ways that may interplay with their psychological well being. According to Lykes (1983), the reality of "double jeopardy" for African American females contrasts with the reality of strong, successful African American women "who exhibit resourcefulness, flexibility, and creativity" (p. 81). Aptheker (1982) notes that literature by African American women focuses less on victimization than on resistance and strategies for survival. Thus, one possible area for future study would be an analysis of how African American women cope with the perceived stressors of racism and sexism and whether these coping mechanisms might moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological well being.

Although conceptually identity development as a moderator of the relationship between racism, sexism and psychological well being of African American females has intuitive appeal, our results did not demonstrate such a relationship. These disconfirmatory findings suggest that identity development is not a viable moderator of this relationship, at least as measured by the Self Identity Inventory (SII). Other possible

explanations for these nonsignificant findings include the following. The SII along with other measures of identity development are based on a wider age range than provided by this university sample; thus greater sample heterogeneity might obtain different results. Furthermore, identity development is a complex construct that may not be adequately operationalized by the SII. Finally, the absence of a relationship between perceived discriminatory events and psychological well being for African American females may have obviated identity development as a moderator.

Limitations of this study include the lengthy nature of instruments given, especially for African American females, small sample sizes, especially for African American males, and the inclusion of only university students in the sample. Within these constraints, however, several implications and directions for future research for can be offered. Counselors should be aware that the effect of racism may have a negative impact on both psychological symptoms and the self esteem of African American male college students. Likewise, for European American female college students, counselors should be aware that the effect of sexism may have a deleterious impact on their reported psychological symptomatology. Therefore, when African American male and European American female clients express concerns about discrimination, counselors might explore the symptomatology they are exhibiting and how discrimination affects other parts of their lives; related issues of self esteem may be important to address with African American males as well. The absence of a relationship between discriminatory events and psychological well being for African American females suggests that counselors might explore other factors not examined in this study to determine what, if any, deleterious relationship exists between discrimination and well being for African

American female clients. Clearly, additional research to understand the impact of racism and sexism on African American females' psychological well being is warranted. As noted above, African American females may perceive racist and sexist stressors, but cope differently with them in ways that may interact with their psychological well being. Therefore, future research might examine coping strategies employed by African American females and the relationships among coping strategies, perceived racist and sexist stressors, and psychological well being. Additional variables related to the unique cultural milieu of African American females, such as extreme responding biases and positive responding biases (Bachman & O'Malley, 1984), also merit empirical attention in attempts to understand the methodological issues that arise in cross cultural research of this type.

The results of this study provoke more questions than answers to the complex relationship between discriminatory events and psychological well being for African Americans and European American females. Indeed, the double jeopardy of racism and sexism that African American females encounter warrants further examination in order to understand the complex relationship between oppression and psychological health. Additional research on the coping strategies utilized by African American females may illuminate another important piece of this puzzle.

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Table 1

Summary of Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (N = 266)

Variable	N
Race/Ethnicity	
European American	170
African American	86
Biracial	2
Multiracial	6
Total	264*
Sex	
Female	161
Male	105
Total	266
Family Income	
Under $10,000	33
$10,000-$14,999.	12
$15,000-$24,999.	14
$25,000-$34,999.	29
$35,000-$49,999.	47
$50,000-$74,999.	64
$75,000 and above	63
Total	262*
Highest Education Level	
12 years (high school degree)	89
technical school	2
13-14 years (junior college)	7
first year undergraduate	94
second year undergraduate	37
third year undergraduate	13
fourth year undergraduate	6
fifth year undergraduate	1
bachelor's degree	5
master's degree	6
Ph.D.	1
Total	261*

*indicates that not all participants responded to question and were assigned missing value.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations for the REI-E and –F, SEI-E and -F, DHFS, HSCL, RSES, and SII

Instrument	M	SD	n
1a. Racist Events Inventory-Effect (REI-E)			
African American Males (AAM)	1.40	.86	23
African American Females (AAF)	1.74	.88	63
1b. Racist Events Inventory-Frequency (REI-F)			
African American Males (AAM)	1.47	.75	23
African American Females (AAF)	1.90	.77	63
2a. Sexist Events Inventory-Effect (SEI-E)			
European American Females (EAF)	.76	.54	89
African American Females (AAF)	.92	.58	63
2b. Sexist Events Inventory-Frequency (SEI-F)			
European American Females (EAF)	.61	.35	89
African American Females (AAF)	.76	.46	63
3a. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 1			
European American Females (EAF)	2.58	.54	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.89	.53	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.26	.71	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.38	.42	23
3b. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 2			
European American Females (EAF)	2.00	.62	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.12	.65	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.05	1.06	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.34	.88	23
3c. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 3			
European American Females (EAF)	1.80	.68	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.11	.87	81
African American Females (AAF)	3.10	.74	63
African American Males (AAM)	3.01	.98	23

Table 2 Continued

3d. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 4			
European American Females (EAF)	2.26	.61	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.37	.59	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.74	.76	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.79	.82	23
3e. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 5			
European American Females (EAF)	2.75	.54	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.45	.67	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.94	.70	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.75	.60	23
3f. Self Identity Inventory (SII) – Scale 6			
European American Females (EAF)	2.30	.71	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.25	.76	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.73	.78	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.67	.65	23
4. Daily Hassles Frequency Scale (DHFS)			
European American Females (EAF)	.44	.17	89
European American Males (EAM)	.41	.19	81
African American Females (AAF)	.52	.20	63
African American Males (AAM)	.40	.19	23
5. Hopkins Symptom Check List (HSCL)			
European American Females (EAF)	1.01	.41	89
European American Males (EAM)	.93	.39	81
African American Females (AAF)	1.20	.54	63
African American Males (AAM)	.74	.52	23
6. Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES)			
European American Females (EAF)	2.16	.58	89
European American Males (EAM)	2.24	.51	81
African American Females (AAF)	2.22	.62	63
African American Males (AAM)	2.08	.65	22

Table 3

Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Matrix for Predictor, Criterion, Covariate, and Moderator Variables

	DHFS	REI-E	REI-F	SEI-E	SEI-F	HSCL	RSES	SII 1	SII 2	SII 3
DHFS	1.00	.24*	.20	.47**	.45**	.47**	-.28**	-.13*	.12*	.15*
REI-E		1.00	.77**	.55*	.44*	.25*	-.17	-.25*	-.09	.35*
REI-F			1.00	.45**	.44**	.20	-.14	-.31**	-.07	.36*
SEI-E				1.00	.82**	.32**	-.21*	-.33**	-.01	.20*
SEI-F					1.00	.30**	-.23**	-.18*	-.03	.24*
HSCL						1.00	-.36**	-.15*	.12	.07
RSES							1.00	.05	-.13*	-.05
SII 1								1.00	.22**	-.03
SII 2									1.00	.36*
SII 3										1.00
SII 4										
SII 5										
SII 6										

**p < .01. *p < .05. Note. DHFS = Daily Hassles Frequency Scale, REI-E = Racist Events Inventory-Effect, REI-F = Racist Events Inventory-Frequency, SEI-E = Sexist Events Inventory-Effect, SEI-F = Sexist Events Inventory-Frequency, HSCL = Hopkins Symptom Check List, RSES = Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale, SII = Self Identity Inventory; SII 1 = Individuation, SII 2 = Dissonance, SII 3 = Immersion, SII 4 = Internalization, SII 5 = Integration, SII 6 = Transformation.

Table 4

Hierarchical Regressions for African American Males

Criterion	Step# - Predictor	R^2	Adj. R^2	R^2_{change}	B	β
HSCL	1. DHFS	.18	.14	.18	1.19	.42*
	2. REI-F	.22	.14	.04	.14	.20
HSCL	1. DHFS	.18	.14	.18	1.19	.42*
	2. REI-E	.36	.29	.18	.28	.46*
RSES	1. DHFS	.29	.26	.29	-1.88	-.54**
	2. REI-F	.41	.34	.11	-.29	-.34
RSES	1. DHFS	.29	.26	.29	-1.88	-.54**
	2. REI-E	.43	.37	.14	-.31	-.41*

** $p<.01$. * $p<.05$.

Table 5

Hierarchical Regressions for European American Females

Criterion	Step# - Predictor	R^2	Adj. R^2	R^2_{change}	B	β
HSCL	2. DHFS	.22	.21	.22	1.12	.47***
	2. SEI-F	.24	.22	.02	.16	.14
HSCL	1. DHFS	.22	.22	.22	1.12	.47***
	2. SEI-E	.26	.24	.04	.18	.23*
RSES	1. DHFS	.05	.04	.05	-.79	-.23*
	2. SEI-F	.06	.04	.01	-.17	-.10
RSES	1. DHFS	.05	.04	.05	-.79	-.23*
	2. SEI-E	.06	.04	.01	-.09	-.09

*** $p < .0001$. * $p < .05$.

Table 6

Hierarchical Regressions for African American Females

Criterion	Step# - Predictor	R^2	Adj. R^2	R^2_{change}	B	β
HSCL	1. DHFS	.16	.14	.16	1.06	.40***
	2. REI-F	.16	.13	.00	.01	.02
	3. SEI-F	.17	.13	.01	.16	.13
HSCL	1. DHFS	.16	.14	.16	1.06	.40***
	2. REI-E	.16	.13	.00	.02	.03
	3. SEI-E	.16	.12	.00	.06	.06
RSES	1. DHFS	.16	.14	.16	-1.12	-.39***
	2. REI-F	.16	.13	.00	-.02	-.02
	3. SEI-F	.19	.15	.03	-.29	-.21
RSES	1. DHFS	.16	.14	.16	-1.12	-.39***
	2. REI-E	.16	.13	.00	.00	.00
	3. SEI-E	.18	.14	.02	-.21	-.20

*** $p<.001$.

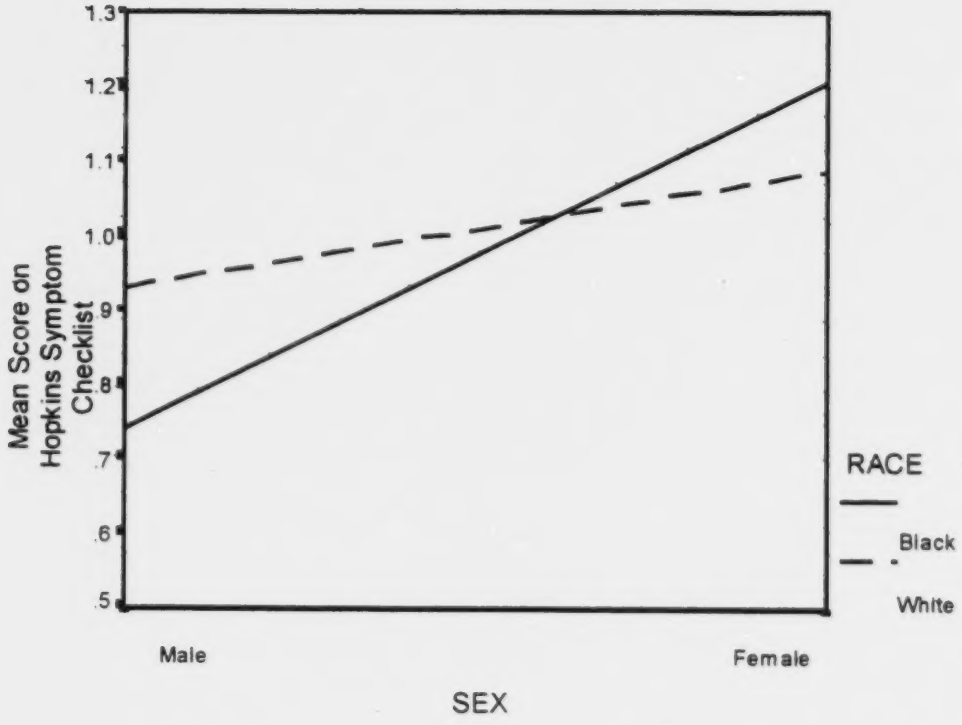
1.3
1.2
1.1
1.0
.9
.8
.7
.6
.5
Mean Score on Hopkins Symptom Checklist
RACE
Black
White
Male
Female
SEX

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Race X Gender Interaction for Mean Scores on Hopkins Symptom Check List.